

Message Text

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ACTION IO-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 EA-06 NSC-05 NSCE-00
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S/IL FOR DALE GOOD
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ILO, PLAB
SUBJECT: US CONSULTATIONS WITH EC NINE ON ILO

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REF: STATE 171938 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: DURING JULY 26 CONSULTATIONS, MEETING OPENED BY MAJOR
STATEMENT BY BELGIAN AMBASSADOR AS CHAIRMAN, ON BEHALF OF THE
NINE. BASIC NINE POSITION URGES US NOT TO WITHDRAW FROM ILO
MEMBERSHIP, STATES BELIEF THAT US WITHDRAWAL WOULD SERIOUSLY
JEOPARDIZE REFORM EFFORTS, THAT THERE IS TOTAL AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE US ON THE OBJECTIVES AS STATED IN THE NOVEMBER 1975 LETTER, THAT THE NINE WILL REMAIN AS MEMBERS OF ILO REGARDLESS OF US DECISION, BUT THAT THEIR INFLUENCE WILL BE SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED BY ABSENCE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST INDUSTRIAL POWER. THEY BELIEVE A FLEXIBLE APPROACH IS NEEDED REGARDING G-77 COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY FOR STRUCTURAL REFORM. THEY EXPECT THAT US WITHDRAWAL WILL CAUSE MAJOR SOVIET REACTION TO DOMINATE AND REORGANIZE THE ILO. THE SUBSEQUENT INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS WERE MIXED IN PERCEPTION AND EMPHASIS BUT ALL AGREED ON ADVERSE IMPACT OF US WITHDRAWAL ON EFFORTS TO REORGANIZE ILO. ITALIAN REPRESENTATIVE EXPRESSED STRONG DOUBT THAT US COULD LEAVE ILO FOR SHORT PERIOD AND THEN RETURN. END SUMMARY

1. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR NOTERDAEME MADE OPENING STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF NINE, NOTING THAT OVERALL RESULTS OF 63RD INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE (ILC) LAST MONTH WERE NOT GOOD, THAT MANY COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, ACTED IRRATIONALLY, AND THAT NINE GENERALLY SHARED US VIEWS OF ILC AND APPRECIATE COMPLEXITIES OF DECISIONS RELATING TO KISSINGER LETTER. NINE BELIEVES U.S. WITHDRAWAL WOULD NOT BE THE RIGHT DECISION BECAUSE OF NEED OF AN ORGANIZATION LIKE ILO "ON UNIVERSAL BASIS". HE SAID SETTING OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR STANDARDS BY ILO WAS NOT NECESSARY NOW FOR INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES BUT IN THE FUTURE WOULD BE IMPORTANT IN ACHIEVING BETTER BALANCE WITH LDCS APPROACHING INDUSTRIALIZATION. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SIMILARLY, ILO WORK IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD CONTRIBUTED NOT ONLY TO BETTER ECONOMIC ORDER BUT TO PROGRESS IN SOCIAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF LABOR. HE SAID ILO PROVIDES WESTERN NATIONS WITH A VALUABLE LINK WITH THE THIRD WORLD. ALTHOUGH THE FUTURE IS UNPREDICTABLE, RIGHT NOW IT IS STILL SUFFICIENTLY REALISTIC AND WORTHWHILE TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO MAKE ILO WORK. HE THEN INTRODUCED FOUR POINTS (LISTED IN SUMMARY ABOVE) ON WHICH NINE INTEND TO PURSUE DEFENSE OF ILO. WITHIN THE GLOBAL POLICY, NINE ARE COMMITTED TO PRESERVE BASIC ILO PRINCIPLES OF TRIPARTISM, DUE PROCESS AND NON-SELECTIVITY IN HUMAN RIGHTS. ALL OF US MUST HAVE MORE IMAGINATION IN DEALING WITH QUESTIONS OF STRUCTURAL REFORM, AVOIDING CONFRONTATION AND BEARING IN MIND THE SENSITIVITIES OF THE THIRD WORLD. THE G-77 ARE NOT A LOST CAUSE IN TERMS OF OUR INTERESTS, AND MOST OF THEM ARE COMMITTED TO OUR DEFINITION OF ILO'S BASIC PRINCIPLES. SPEAKING FOR NINE, NOTERDAEME URGED US NOT TO ABANDON ILO TO USSR AND EASTERN BLOC. USSR WILL TRY TO FILL THE GAP POLITICALLY LEFT BY US WITHDRAWAL AND WILL INFILTRATE ILO SECRETARIAT AND STAFF. THEY WILL TRY TO CHANGE COMPOSITION OF LABOR-EMPLOYER GROUPS. US AND NINE CANNOT TOLERATE ANY CHANGE IN WORKER-EMPLOYER AUTONOMY. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR NOTERDAEME SAID THAT US AND IMEC

COUNTRIES MUST STAND TOGETHER, THAT US WITHDRAWAL WILL MAKE ANY EFFORT AT REFORM MUCH MORE DIFFICULT AND THAT IMEC WOULD HAVE LITTLE CREDIBILITY WITHOUT THE US. HE CITED FRENCH PROVERB SAYING THAT THOSE WHO ARE ABSENT FROM THE STRUGGLE ARE AT FAULT. HE RAISED THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE US WITHDRAWAL

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IN THE CONTEXT OF THE UN STRUCTURE GENERALLY AND ASKED WHETHER WITHDRAWAL WOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS AN ATTACK ON THE UN AS A WHOLE. SUMMING UP FOR THE NINE POSITION, HE SAID WE DO NOT ASK THE US TO STAY IN ILO FOR PLEASURE OR FOR THE PRINCIPLE OR STAYING, NOR BECAUSE IT IS MORE CONVENIENT. WE WANT US TO STAY BECAUSE THERE IS A VALUABLE JOB TO BE DONE IN THE ILO AND WE MUST HELP THE ILO THROUGH THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD IN A JOINT EFFORT. THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF THE NINE ARE RIPE FOR ACTION. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NINE ARE AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM AND THEY WILL BE PART OF THE

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ACTION. THE CRISIS OF THE LAST TWO YEARS HAVE DEVELOPED IMEC'S SOLIDARITY. LET US KEEP IT INTACT.

2. AMBASSADOR OF THE NETHERLANDS COMPLETELY ASSOCIATED HIS COUNTRY WITH NOTERDAEM'S OPENING COMMENTS AND POINTED OUT NO ONE KNOWS WHAT WILL BECOME OF THE ILO IF THE US WITHDRAWS BUT CLEARLY THE NINE WILL STAY AS MEMBERS BUT THEIR POSITION WILL BE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT WITHOUT THE US. THE NETHERLANDS SEES IMPORTANT QUESTIONS THE SAME WAY AS THE US BUT KNOWS THAT THOSE POSITIONS ARE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO DEFEND WITHOUT US PRESENCE. THE DEMOCRACIES ARE A MINORITY. WE HAVE TO FIGHT TO KEEP OUR VALUES PROPERLY REFLECTED IN EVERY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. WE WILL ENDURE MANY DEFEATS IN THAT EFFORT BUT IT MUST BE CONTINUED. THE NETHERLANDS SEES A LONG BUT CRITICALLY IMPORTANT STRUGGLE IN HELPING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS BY DUTCH AMBASSADOR, BOTH MAYNES AND HOROWITZ SAID US LEADERSHIP ROLE IN PAST TWO YEARS FOLLOWED FROM FORMAL NOTICE IN KISSINGER LETTER; THEY NOTED US BILATERAL EFFORTS IN THIRD WORLD AND ASKED WHAT ACTIONS THE NINE WERE PREPARED TO TAKE IN THE FUTURE. DUTCH RESPONSE THAT "THE NETHERLANDS WILL SUPPORT U.S. EFFORTS" WAS FOLLOWED BY GOOD HUMORED LAUGHTER AROUND THE ROOM.

3. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE ILO HAS BEEN IMMUNE FROM POLITISATION IN MUCH OF ITS WORK, ALTHOUGH NOT IN ITS PLENARY CONFERENCES. HE EXPRESSED SENSITIVITY TO THE CREDIBILITY ARGUMENT IF THE US REMAINS, BUT HE FELT THAT STAYING WOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS A LOSS OF FACE BUT RATHER AS A COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE THE FIGHT. FRANCE FEELS THAT IT WILL BE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE POSITIVE RESULTS IF THE US WITHDRAWS BUT IT WILL NOT GIVE UP THE FIGHT. ALTHOUGH FRANCE COMMITTED ITSELF TO THE US STRATEGY IN THE PAST TWO YEARS SO AS TO AVOID ANY CONFUSION

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AS TO ITS COMMITMENT TO US OBJECTIVES, FRANCE FEELS THAT THE APPROACH IN THE FUTURE WITH OR WITHOUT THE US MUST BE DIFFERENT, ESPECIALLY REQUIRING FLEXIBILITY IN TERMS OF ILO ORGANIZATION. THE ILO HAS NOT BEEN RETHOUGHT IN TERMS OF ITS STRUCTURE FOR MANY YEARS SO AS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NEW PATTERN OF THE WORLD. THE US REMAINING IN ILO WOULD BE A GREAT ENCOURAGEMENT FOR FRANCE.

4. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT ATTACHED

UTMOST VALUES TO THE IDEALS AND METHODS OF ILO. GREAT BRITAIN AND PERHAPS OTHER GOVERNMENTS WERE SLOW IN RECOGNIZING THE DANGEROUS TRENDS IN ILO, CERTAINLY SLOWER THAN THE US. REFLECTING THE VIEWS OF BRITISH LABOR AND EMPLOYER REPRESENTATIVES (SEE PARA 6, LONDON 12417), HIS GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THE NEEDED REFORM EFFORT. THE ILO WILL BE MUCH LESS EFFECTIVE WITHOUT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY. US WITHDRAWAL WILL HAVE SERIOUS REPRECUSIONS IN THE UN AND IN FOREIGN POLICY GENERALLY; IT WILL WEAKEN THE INFLUENCE OF THE WEST; IT WILL ENLARGE IRRITATIONS WITH THE G-77 COUNTRIES WHICH THE USSR WILL FOSTER AND EXPLOIT. HE REFERRED TO CROSLAND'S SPEECH IN 1976 UNGA, WARNING THAT CONTINUED "POLITICKING" IN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES WOULD LEAD MEMBERS TO SEEK SOLUTIONS OUTSIDE THE UN SYSTEM. HE POINTED OUT THAT A LARGE FRACTION OF THE G-77 COUNTRIES WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE ILO REPORT CRITICIZING THE USSR IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THE PLACE TO FIGHT AND TO REFORM IS WITHIN AN ORGANIZATION, NOT OUTSIDE OF IT. WHAT THE NINE CAN DO WILL DEPEND IN CONSIDERABLE MEASURE ON WHAT THE US WILL DO. GREAT BRITAIN WILL STAY IN THE ILO. THERE IS A FAIR CHANCE TO SUCCEED IN THE REFORM EFFORT IF WE ARE IN THE STRUGGLE TOGETHER, A MUCH LOWER CHANCE IF THE US WITHDRAWS. NIGEL FORWARD, THE ACCOMPANYING BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE FROM LONDON, SAID THAT THE NOVEMBER 1975 LETTER HAS HAD A REMARKABLE IMPACT ON THE AWARENESS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE NINE AND THAT A CONCERTED CAMPAIGN TOWARD OUR MUTUAL OBJECTIVES WAS NOW POSSIBLE.

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5. THE DANISH AMBASSADOR "TOTALLY ASSOCIATED" HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION WITH THE PRIOR REMARKS OF HIS COLLEAGUES. HE ADDED THAT THE APPROACH OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WAS FREQUENTLY THE SAME IN ILO AS IT IS IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE G-77 PERHAPS BECAUSE THEY MAY OPERATE ON BROAD INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS RATHER THAN PRECISE INSTRUCTIONS RELATED TO ILO PROBLEMS. MR. WANDALL-HOLM, REPRESENTING THE DANISH MINISTRY OF LABOR, EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPACT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF US WITHDRAWAL ON THE TECHNICAL-PROFESSIONAL SIDE OF ILO OPERATIONS, POINTING OUT THAT THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEES PERFORM "BRILLIANT WORK" UNDISTURBED BY THE PLENARY CONFERENCE. HE URGED THAT THE US NOT THROW OUT SUCH ACHIEVEMENTS AND THAT US WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE AN IMMENSE LOSS TO THE G-77.

6. ITALIANS (AGO) PAINTED GRIM PICTURE OF CONSEQUENCES OF US WITHDRAWAL. AGO SAID THAT WEAKENED WESTERN POSITON WOULD INTENSIFY POLITICIZATION, ENCOURAGE MORE POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS, RESULT IN STRUCTURAL REFORM WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE AUTONOMY OF WORKER GROUPS AND UNDERMINE POSITION OF GOVERNING BODY VIS-A-VIS CONFERENCE. WITHOUT US, WEST COULD NOT HOPE TO ELECT ONE OF ITS MEMBERS AS DIRECTOR GENERAL, AND WESTERN ORIENTATION AND PERCENTAGE OF SECRETARIAT WOULD DECREASE DRAMATICALLY. AGO CONCLUDED THAT IF US LEFT ILO WITH STATED INTENTION OF RETURNING IF AND WHEN THE SITUATION IMPROVED, US WOULD NEVER BE ABLE TO RETURN. HE ASKED WHETHER WE WERE PREPARED TO GIVE UP THIS MAJOR OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE THE DIRECTIONS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IF US REMAINED IN ILO AND CONTINUED TO FIGHT, AGO DOUBED THAT SITUATION WOULD BECOME BETTER VERY

SOON, BUT IN LONG RUN IMEC UNITY AND COORDINATED POLICY BASED ON CONSULTATION, COULD LIMIT POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS. HE ASKED WHY ABANDON THE BATTLE IN THE ILO -- THE DIFFICULTIES ARE NOT LESS THAN IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. "IF THE US LEAVES, ITALY SEES NOTHING BUT DARKNESS."

7. THE IRISH AMBASSADOR ASSOCIATED HIS COUNTRY WITH PRIOR REMARKS. HE ADDED THAT THE OBJECTIVES IN THE US IN THE AREAS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD BE MUCH BETTER SERVED IF THE US REMAINED IN THE ILO. IF THE US LEAVES, ELIMINATING ITS 25 PERCENT CONTRIBUTION TO THE ILO BUDGET THE AMERICAN EMPLOYEES OF ILO, REPRESENTING 16 PERCENT OF ITS STAFF, WILL BE JEOPARDIZED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND SOVIET EXPLOITATION OF THESE FACTORS WILL BE INTENSE.

8. FRG AMBASSADOR SAID IT WOULD BE A PITY IF EFFORTS BY USG AND HOROWITZ IN LAST TWO YEARS WERE LOST BY US WITHDRAWAL, WHICH HE SAID WAS INAPPROPRIATE IN TERMS OF US LEADERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. FRG AGREED WITH FIRST THREE POINTS OF KISSINGER LETTER BUT THOUGHT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO DEPOLITICIZE AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATON. FRG WILL REMAIN IN ILO AND WITH DGB AND EMPLOYERS WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO DEFEND ILO VALUES. FRG BELIEVES THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE ORGANIZATION FOR ILO. IN FUTURE, MORE ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO ASPIRATIONS OF THIRD WORLD MEMBERS. LOSS OF US CREDIBILITY WOULD BE MUCH GREATER IF IT WITHDRAWS THAN IF IT STAYS IN ILO.

9. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF LUXEMBOURG EXPRESSED THE POSITION OF HER GOVERNMENT THAT THE US SHOULD NOT WITHDRAW AND ASSOCIATED HER GOVERNMENT WITH THE COMMENTS OF HER COLLEAGUES. VANDEN HEUVEL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
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Concepts: MEMBERSHIP, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, MEETINGS
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Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
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Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 77 STATE 171938
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1867780
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US CONSULTATIONS WITH EC NINE ON ILO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
TAGS: ELAB, PORG, XX, US, UR, ILO, EEC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7932d76b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009